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- ART. III. — 1. *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Von JAKOB und WILHELM GRIMM. Vol. I. — III. Leipzig. 1852–1863.
2. *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Von JAKOB und WILHELM GRIMM, fortgesetzt von DR. RUDOLPH HILDEBRAND und PROFESSOR KARL WEIGAND. Erstes Heft. Leipzig. 1864.
3. *Deutsche Grammatik*. Von JAKOB GRIMM. Vol. I. — IV. Göttingen. 1819–1837.
4. *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. Von JAKOB GRIMM. 2 Vols. Leipzig. 1848.

THE name of Jacob Grimm has long been known as that of one of the most eminent representatives of erudition and of science produced by our century. His Grammar, although it has done but little for learners of the German language, has not failed of even grander results, and has since the day of its publication been prized as one of the most valued guides to linguistic and ethnological researches of every kind. Of late years his colossal enterprise, the ponderous Thesaurus of his language, has again brought out his name conspicuously among the *savans* of Europe, and carried it far beyond the limits of his country, not only wherever the German is read or spoken, but as far as there are lexicographers to profit from the lessons of a master in a science of which he is one of the originators. We need not therefore be surprised, that, since the date of his death, a little more than a year ago, a multitude both of notices and of eulogies have rapidly succeeded each other in nearly every country where letters are respected; and several of them, we are happy to say, are to be credited to pens from this side of the Atlantic. But although our readers may already have become informed of some of the leading facts connected with the name of Grimm, we cannot forbear thinking that the subject is not yet either exhausted or out of date for our pages; that, on the contrary, something further may be offered, which may shed new light upon it, and prove a source of profit or of pleasure to many of those whose eyes may chance to meet it. We propose, therefore, to insert here a brief sketch of the life of Grimm, and to link to it in chronological order as complete an outline of his writings as the limits of an article will permit.

From this sketch we could not well exclude the brother, who was inseparable from him nearly all his lifetime, and who, although not as eminent, has yet in association with him rendered services enough to letters to claim companionship of fame. We shall, therefore, connect to some extent the life of William Grimm with that of Jacob in the ensuing pages.

Jacob Grimm has himself left us an equally naïve and frank account of the earlier half of his life, in Justi's *Gelehrtenlexikon*, which was printed as long ago as 1831.* We are there informed that he was born at Hanau, on January 4th, 1785, the second son of the family, of which his brother William, one year older than himself, was the first and the eldest child. His father was *Amtmann*, or bailiff of the district; but before Jacob had reached the age of ten, his father moved to Steinau, and there shortly after died, leaving his family in a state of comparative destitution. The young boy, with his brother, received the first rudiments of his education at Steinau, where he probably also commenced his Latin. He was, we are told, remarkable for brightness from his childhood, and could read books fluently before others were beyond their alphabet. Of his earlier years there is nothing further to be noted, except that his face was for a time completely disfigured by the marks of small-pox, from which his features recovered their former symmetry but slowly.

Jacob's education, after so early a loss of his father, might have become much neglected, or at any rate suspended, had he not met with a helping hand in one of his aunts, who was living at the Electoral Court at Cassel. This good lady, Henrietta Philippina Zimmer, invited him, together with his brother, to the Lyceum at Cassel, where under her auspices they might continue and complete their preparation for the University. Jacob was but thirteen years of age at the time he entered the Lyceum, and was on that account put into *Unterquarta*, i. e. the lower subdivision of the fourth class of the institution; but he rapidly advanced from class to class, and, as he himself says, stood almost always *primus* until he had completed the course of studies at the Lyceum.

Everything seems to have gone on smoothly at Cassel, except

* Reprinted in Vol. I. of his posthumous *Kleinere Schriften*, Berlin, 1864.

that our young student was obliged to submit to a formal incivility, of which he afterwards deemed it just to leave a memorandum. One of his masters persisted in addressing him with *Er*, because he happened to be from the country, while all those of his class who were from the city were honored with the regular *Sie*, — a distinction which Grimm could not reconcile with his sense of justice. No special predilection for any one particular study seems to have developed itself in him as yet, and of the department in which he in after life became so eminent he could have had no conception at a time when nothing of the sort as yet existed. His leisure hours were devoted to drawing, — an art which his brother William likewise cultivated, and of which a younger brother, Emil, afterwards became Professor. In adverting to his course at the Lyceum, Grimm at a later date regretted too much of his time spent over studies which were but little calculated to benefit a career like his, as, for example, the natural sciences, geography, ethics, and philosophy, for none of which he had any special taste, except to some extent for botany.

Grimm entered the University of Marburg in 1802. He matriculated for the law; not from any special predilection for the study, but because his mother wished it, and his father too had been a jurist before him. "There is," says he, "something natural, harmless, and even promising in this adherence to the condition of one's father." His means at the University were extremely limited, his mother having three younger sons besides himself and his brother William to educate, and he was so far from being indebted to the aid of public or private beneficence as to be obliged to witness the fattest endowments unworthily bestowed and squandered by his side. But his austere lot did not discourage the aspiring youth, and he went on courageously with the work before him. "Poverty," says he, "spurs on to diligence and effort, saves us from many a dissipation, and inspires us with a certain noble pride that cannot be condemned, based as it is on the consciousness that we are earning for ourselves by personal effort what rank and wealth confer on others without exertion on their part. Nay, I am even inclined to generalize my remark, and to attribute much of that which the Germans have achieved to the circumstance

that they are not a rich people. They work from below upward, and on that account strike into many a peculiar path, while other nations may be said to advance rather upon a broad and well-paved public road."

Both the brothers Grimm studied under the eminent Savigny, to whose house they had free access, and in whose society they not only received the impulse for a profounder knowledge of jurisprudence than was common, but incidentally also, and mainly through some valuable works in his library, their attention was directed to the study of the Middle-High-German language and literature. Savigny's influence proved a decisive one on both the young students; and William Grimm afterwards confessed, that he did not know whether without it he would ever have attained to anything respectable (*je auf den rechten Weg gekommen wäre*).

And that Savigny likewise found something in the young men to appreciate is evident from the honor he conferred on Jacob two years after his matriculation. For when, in the summer of 1804, the celebrated jurist was on his learned tour to Paris, he had not been long in the capital before he felt the need of the assistance of his young student-friend, and sent him a request to follow him as early as January, 1805. Jacob was of course eager enough to accept so flattering an invitation, but his mother was so anxious about what she considered a risky undertaking, that, while her son was on his way, the good lady rose every night out of her bed to observe the weather, for fear her Jacob might meet with some accident, or freeze to death in the *diligence*. The closer intercourse with Savigny and the ample literary resources of the French capital gave a direction to Jacob's mind which never left him in after life, and which determined the character of all his subsequent colossal scientific enterprises.

It was in the course of the same winter that Jacob made application for some government employment at Cassel; but everything seemed barred against him, until, about a year after, he at last succeeded in becoming a sort of supernumerary under the Secretary of the War Department, with the extremely slender salary of one hundred thalers per annum. His good mother was not destined to live long enough to see the condi-

tion of her son materially mended. She died in 1808 at Cassel, while Jacob was yet limited to the wretched pittance of his hundred thalers.

It was not until July of the same year that a change took place in the relations of the young *savant*, which brightened his horizon considerably, but which was of such a nature that the Germans have pronounced themselves obliged to record it as a source of humiliation to their honor. It was the year in which the French had commenced to establish their dominion in the heart of Germany; and the new king of Westphalia, Jerome, who it appears was fond of at least the show of books, had a library for which he was in search of a custodian. Johannes von Müller recommended young Jacob Grimm, and the appointment was conferred on him. The post was in every sense a most desirable one, not only because it brought the incumbent a handsome salary, but also because it left him ample leisure for his favorite researches; no one being allowed to draw any books out of the library, and the king seldom demanding any service for himself.

The direction the librarian received on entering on his duties was simply, *Vous ferez mettre en grands caractères sur la porte: Bibliothèque particulière du Roi*. It was in the seclusion of this quiet sanctuary that Jacob, in connection with his brother William and some members of the Romantic school, began his labors to rescue the venerable literary monuments of his nation's antiquity from the oblivion and neglect in which they had for centuries been buried, and to astonish the world with glimpses into the poetry, tradition, and history of past centuries, of which it thus far had scarcely had a suspicion.

That Grimm discharged the duties of his office to the satisfaction of his royal master, we may infer not only from his remaining in his service in the capacity in which he had entered it until the dissolution of the kingdom, but also from certain additional honors and attentions bestowed on him as a reward of his fidelity. One morning, it is said, the king entered the library in person, and for no other purpose than that of announcing to its custodian his having nominated him Auditor in his Council of State. The young Germanist, but a short time before struggling for bread, was now honored with a seat

among the grandees of a sovereign, with whom he at first appeared regularly in the embroidered gala of the court. But Grimm's *penchant* was far greater in the direction of closet-work than in that of ceremonial court-business; and he accordingly no sooner learned that he need only appear when his master presided at the Council in person, than he turned the liberty to account, and quietly kept busy with his studies. The means at his command were now also much more ample, the salary of his two offices amounting to more than one thousand thalers, i. e. more than ten times the wretched allowance made him by the War Department of his native government.

Grimm remained with Jerome, as we have already said, from 1808 until the dissolution of the kingdom and the restoration of the Hessian government, in 1813. During the latter part of his reign, when the war began to menace the existence of his ephemeral throne, the king could not have so much confidence in his librarian, the only German in his Cabinet, as in the rest of his councillors. Grimm, however, conducted himself prudently enough to be retained until everything was lost, and the library had to be removed out of the danger of confiscation.

As soon as the war drew near to the royal residence, Grimm received orders to pack up the most valuable of the books and manuscripts at Cassel and Wilhelmshöhe, and to forward them to Paris; and in the performance of this duty he was closely superintended by one of Jerome's special agents, so that it was impossible for him to retain anything that was not of a purely local or special interest. All the rest went to Paris.

The modest, and in fact extremely patriotic, occupation of the royal librarian did not expose him to share the fate of the monarch in whose service he had spent five years of retired study, and he was therefore not required to leave Cassel. Complete amnesty even was easily granted to him, his brother William having maintained relations of loyalty with the exiled Elector, while his Aunt Zimmer had been a sharer of his banishment. Besides this, two of his younger brothers, who had lived far from home, had come back to respond to the call of their country, and had participated in the famous campaign of 1813.

It was thus that Grimm was enabled without much difficulty to return to loyalty again, and even greet the returning old Elector as he drove slowly along the streets of Cassel, which he entered towards the close of the year 1813. "We ran" (*liefen*), says he in his naïve mode of expressing himself, "along by the open carriage as it passed onward through the streets, which were hung with festoons and garlands." William too, although, like his brother, not unaware that his native land had much that was now out of date, and disposed to favor progress, could not refrain from expressing his satisfaction at the expulsion of the invader and the return of his native prince. "The restoration of Hessa," says he, "has been celebrated by us with emotions of the purest joy; and I have never witnessed anything more touching than the public entrance of our sovereign family. The people drew the carriage, not with an impetuous zeal roused for but a momentary purpose, but like one who brings back to his home a treasure, of which he has for a long time been deprived, and which the Divinity has restored to him again. It seemed to me at the moment that no fond expectation for the future could remain unfulfilled." So much then for the Grimms' patriotic sentiments as far as the invasion of their country was concerned.

Grimm's relations with Savigny and the late short-lived court of Jerome of Westphalia had naturally made him somewhat of a diplomate, and it was doubtless on that account that two days before Christmas, in 1813, he was nominated Secretary of Legation to the Hessian Envoy to the headquarters of the allied army. In this position he once more was brought to Paris, in April, 1814, where he again improved every moment of his leisure to examine manuscripts in reference to his studies. It was then that Grimm saw his favorite books again in the French capital, where the same *huissier* that had helped him put them up at Cassel was now called upon to surrender them as the Elector's property, unlawfully seized and carried off by an enemy of the country. The Congress of Vienna next summoned Jacob to the capital of Austria, where he remained until June, 1815, busily occupied, most of the time, with researches into the Slavonic languages. In the course of the same year, the Prussian government called

him once more to Paris, charging him with the business of searching up and redemanding some manuscripts that had been robbed from some of the Prussian provinces. No commission could have been more agreeable to Grimm. It gave him ample opportunity for his researches, — there being on this occasion no other draft upon his time than the slight one which his duty as the temporary *locum tenens* of the Hessian Ambassador demanded of him. At this time he came into collision with some of the officials of the Imperial library, and one day, while engaged in making extracts from some of the manuscripts, which could not at the moment be reclaimed, he was interrupted by Langlès, the *conservateur*, who indignantly exclaimed, “ *Nous ne devons plus souffrir ce M. Grimm qui vient tous les jours travailler ici et qui nous enlève pourtant nos manuscrits.*” The reprimand was sufficient. Grimm at once returned the manuscript from which he was extracting, and never made his appearance again at the library, except in his official capacity, as the substitute of his principal, the Ambassador.

Grimm had no sooner returned to his home than he was offered the post of Secretary of Legation to the new Federal Diet; but his attachment to his studies had already won a decided ascendancy over him, and he on that account declined the appointment, but accepted the place of second librarian in the Electoral library at Cassel, in which the salary of six hundred thalers, paid him by King Jerome, was continued, and a few perquisites were added from other petty offices, among which, for a time, even that of the censorship (not coveted by him) was included. To his great satisfaction, provision was at the same time made for his brother William, who had, however, to content himself with the modest post of secretary to the library. This arrangement was due to Privy-Councillor Strieder, who had influence with the Elector, and who had so much regard for the two learned brothers as to give biographical sketches of both of them in his *Gelehrtenlexikon*, and with a minuteness that took in even the names of their nearest ancestors and relations. During the occupation of his country by the French, the patriotic indignation of this Strieder ran so high, that for seven entire years he could not be prevailed upon to

cross the threshold of his house, and the enemy could not be mentioned without rousing him to ire.

Jacob Grimm's connection with the library at Cassel lasted from 1816 till towards the close of the year 1829; and these thirteen years were to him not only the most laborious and prolific, but perhaps, with the exception of his last ten years at Berlin, also the quietest and most satisfactory of his life. It was here that he commenced authorship in earnest, for which his previous studies, and even publications, had been but preliminary; and it was here that he conceived and executed to some extent those works which constitute the basis of his immense celebrity abroad as well as in his native country.

Grimm had indeed begun his career as author while yet in the service of the king of Westphalia, and had already issued several publications, partly in his own name, partly in connection with his brother. His first work was an examination of the poetry of the old German Master-singers (*Ueber den alt-deutschen Meistergesang*). It appeared at Göttingen in 1811, the year in which William likewise made his *début* in a translation of the popular heroic songs of Denmark (*Altdänische Heldenlieder, Balladen u. Märchen*, Heidelberg, 1811). In 1812, Jacob made a memorable contribution to Schlegel's *Deutsches Museum*, in which he discussed the mysterious transmission of popular legends from nation to nation, and from one generation of the same people to another.

About the same time the two brothers edited together the two most ancient poems of the German language, dating from the eighth century (*Die zwei ältesten deutschen Gedichte des achten Jahrhunderts*), fragments invaluable for the study of the language, which had up to that time been mistaken for prose, but now were by Jacob Grimm proved to be alliterative poetry. In the same year, 1812, they also gave to the world the three volumes of their charming collection of nursery tales, the widely and justly celebrated *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, most of which they themselves collected as they found them in the mouth of the people, and which they reproduced in a style which, in point of truthfulness and natural ease, is quite unique, if not incomparable in its kind. This work is the first that reveals to us that scrupulous attention to the

humbler spheres of German life, which the Grimms regarded as an invaluable aid to the study of a nation's history, and which now became one of the essential features of their method.

From 1813 to 1816 the two brothers still continued to work conjointly. They published in a periodical form, and under the title of *Altdeutsche Wälder*,—"Old German Forests,"—a collection of valuable old texts, with dissertations on the language and literature of Germany during the Middle Age. This work attracted notice, not only from its intrinsic value, but also, and perhaps still more, from the critical assault of William Schlegel, who, as the chief of the so-called Romanticists, considered himself called upon to expend some of his fastidious mockery on the labors of the Grimms, and that too, singularly enough, in spite of the fact that the latter were likewise arrayed, at least nominally, under the banner of his school. The two brothers were, however, far from being disheartened or intimidated by the attack, and continued to work and publish together, on the same plan and in the same spirit as before. They edited, in 1815, a selection of extracts from the Elder Edda (*Die Lieder der älteren Edda*, Berlin, 1815), then for the first time made known to Germany in its own language; and a year or two after, a collection of German legends, in two volumes (*Deutsche Sagen*, Berlin, 1816–1818). This popular series they completed in 1826, by adding a volume of Irish fairy legends (*Irische Elfenmärchen*, Leipzig, 1826) in imitation of the work of Crofton Croker, with a learned and ingenious introduction on the traditions relating to the elves.

But to return now more particularly to Jacob Grimm. We have already remarked that his residence at Cassel as librarian was perhaps the most satisfactory and successful period of his laborious life. Of this he was himself so well aware, that when, in 1816, the University of Bonn invited him, together with his brother, to chairs in its Faculty, he declined to accept, afraid of losing by the exchange some of the quiet leisure which he then enjoyed. He kept perpetually at work, and now not only in conjunction with his brother and on secondary publications, but far more earnestly and extensively

on works of solid erudition, and these of the most original and widest scope. His studies had thus far, as we have seen, been mainly and steadily directed towards the linguistical and literary antiquities of his country; but these he did not allow to be restricted to their ordinary limits. He extended his researches in every direction where he knew or suspected the remotest bearing on his subject, and thus made tributary to his purpose not only the old and new dialects of his own language, including the old Scandinavian and its modern descendants, the Gothic and the Sanscrit, but also the Slavonic languages, and the Romansh idioms descended from the Latin. As an additional proof of his preparatory studies in all these directions, we may cite his *Silva de Romances Viejos*, which was printed in Vienna in 1815, and which for many years passed as the best collection of old Spanish romanzas.

The first great work of Jacob Grimm began to make its appearance in 1819. This was the first volume of his German Grammar (*Deutsche Grammatik*, Göttingen, 1819), which was destined to be a colossus of four thick octavos, and compared with which all his previous publications dwindled into secondary rank. It was in its scope and execution a grammar in a sense in which none had been seen before; and it has justly been said of it, that it for the first time demonstrated to the learned world what a language is. Its method was a complete revolution in the science of grammar,—the substitution of a natural and comparative process, in lieu of the former *a priori* rules, which had scarcely varied since the time of the grammarians of Alexandria and Rome. All the languages of Germanic origin were here considered as dialects of one, and not only were they subjected to a minute comparison of their sounds and forms, with a view to determining the law of their transition from one into the other, but the different epochs of each of them were also examined with scrupulous care, so as to bring out completely their history and the successive phases of their organic life. And in the execution of this plan the author not only communicated the results of his researches to his readers, but he worked as it were before their eyes, and never drew his generalizations until he had first adduced long lists of examples, all of which

were derived from and credited to authentic sources. The book, it is true, became thus somewhat ponderous and unpractical; but of what consequence is this in labors of the sort? Its scientific method and exactness won it, from the outset, an authority which placed it on a level with the Comparative Anatomy of Cuvier. The plan on which Grimm's work is executed must doubtless be attributed to his invention, although the movement to which it belongs goes back as far as the commencement of the century. Frederic Schlegel published his work on the language and wisdom of the ancient Hindus in 1808; Raynouard's grammar of the Romansh languages was printed in 1816; and Bopp's conjugation-system of the Indo-Germanic languages in the same year.

After bringing out the second volume of this Grammar in 1826, Grimm next published, in 1828, another great work on the legal antiquities of Germany (*Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, Göttingen, 1828), in which he again astonished the world of letters by demonstrating how closely the history of a nation's jurisprudence is linked to that of its manners and customs, and to its archæology. The author here disclosed vestiges of law from sources in which no one had ever looked for them before; and his book diffused an effulgence of light on the Germanic manners of the Middle Age, which extended its beneficent rays to other nations even. In France, M. Michelet, the historian, was so fascinated by it, that a few years after he composed, in imitation of it, a book on the legal antiquities of his own country (*Sur les Origines du Droit français*), in which he incorporated a portion of Grimm's work translated by himself, and expressed himself in terms of boundless admiration for the author of it. This translation gave rise to a correspondence between Grimm and Michelet, of which several interesting letters from the pen of Grimm have recently been printed. Michelet entered so completely into the spirit of the great work in question, that we can scarcely do better than give, from his own Introduction, the following brief characterization of it.

"There is no country in which the science of jurisprudence is as prolific in poetical formulas as it is in Germany. In 1816, Jacob Grimm, the Ducange of our age, published a brief but interesting dissertation 'On the Poetry of the Law' (*Ueber die Poesie des Rechts*); and in 1828

he gave to the world his gigantic work 'On the Antiquities of German Jurisprudence.' Never did a book shed so sudden and profound a light on any science. There is here no room left either for confusion or for doubt. It is not a more or less ingeniously constructed system that we have here; it is a magnificent collection of formulas derived from the jurisprudence of every country, from all the idioms of Germany and of the North. We perceive in this book, not the hypotheses of a man, but the living voice of antiquity itself; the irrefragable testimony of two or three hundred old juriconsults, who in their naïve and poetical formulas have preserved us the beliefs, the domestic usages, nay, the very secrets of the fireside and of the most intimate moral relations of the German people. The book has an immense intrinsic value, considered merely as a revelation of the poetry of a nation's jurisprudence, but a still greater one as a term of comparison with that of other countries. No nation is as rich in this department as Germany, and that which the rest possess finds in nearly every instance something to correspond with it in the collection given us by Grimm, and may derive from it either confirmation or interpretation, as the case may happen to require. The new science indicated by Vico has now become possible, the symbolism of the law."

Grimm was so much pleased with Michelet's proceeding, that, in a letter bearing the date of Göttingen, December 1st, 1837, he wrote to him *inter alia*: "Your Introduction to your *Origines du Droit* is, in my opinion, more poetical than *L'Art Poétique* of your Boileau,"—an estimate which a recent French writer does not accept as a compliment to his literature, and maintains Goethe to have been the only German that ever judged equitably of the *esprit* of the French, although himself not possessed of the slightest affinity with it.

While Jacob thus won celebrity at Cassel, his brother William was not idle, although his delicate health and his disinclination for philosophical generalizations did not allow him to enter upon tasks so arduous and ambitious as were those of Jacob. He published in 1821 a valuable dissertation on the German Runes (*Ueber die deutschen Runen*), and in 1829 a work on the Heroic Legends of the Germans (*Die deutsche Heldensage*), which Jacob afterward pronounced his masterpiece. Besides this, he now began to publish the texts of some of the old German writers (e. g. *Grave Ruodolf*, Göttingen, 1828), of which he afterward at Göttingen and Berlin edited a considerable number.

This peaceful existence of the Grimms at Cassel was suddenly interrupted by the death of the principal librarian, in 1829. The great merit of the two learned brothers entitled them to promotion ; and Jacob was, in the estimation of every one, the man to fill the vacancy, while the less distinguished but not less meritorious William had likewise strong claims to advancement. But it seems no such estimate was put upon their services by the obtuse authorities about them. A certain Von Rommel, who the year before had been elevated to the peerage of the Electorate, was made director of the library and museum, while the two brothers were to remain in their previous condition of subalterns. This was too serious an infringement of their honor to pass unnoticed, either by themselves or by the numerous and devoted friends which their great services to national letters had attached to them. Some of the latter suggested that an honorable call to Göttingen should be accepted by them, and all the parties consulted about the step advised them by all means to consent to it. But, singularly enough, their attachment to their home and to their quiet pursuits made it appear hard for them to move into the publicity of University chairs ; and it was only their sense of honor that prevailed on them at last to listen to the proposition addressed them.

All these scruples were overcome when, in October, 1829, the royal patent reached them which appointed Jacob regular professor and librarian, and William assistant librarian, to the University of Göttingen. One of the most desirable, and doubtless the most consoling, advantages of these new positions was, that both of them had salaries attached to them, — a consideration which was destined to put an end to the perpetual pecuniary embarrassments with which they had to struggle in the service of their native government. Jacob was thus at length reconciled to the change. “It is true,” said he, “the country about Göttingen cannot be compared with that of Cassel ; but then the same stars are over our heads, and God will help us onward.” At Göttingen, William had ample room for moving onward in his beaten path, and prepared a number of new publications from his post. Jacob alone was called to the performance of an additional duty, new to him, and about which he had felt some hesitation ; but his *début* as a lecturer was quite satis-

factory, and he soon became one of the most popular men of the University. His courses were chiefly on the comparative grammar of his language, and on the legal antiquities and literary history of his country, sometimes also on the *Germania* of Tacitus. The style of his lectures, like that of his writings, was not unfrequently striking and poetic. He began one of them with the memorable words: "Thought is lightning, speech is thunder." In speaking of the German language, he said upon another occasion: "The old language may be compared to an infant, which has inherited wonderful talents, but which has not as yet developed them; the new, on the other hand, is a man who, although possessed of but moderate endowments, yet manages them so well as to be equal to any emergency." William too, though not an *ordinarius* like his brother, considered himself now called upon to give courses, and lectured chiefly on old German literature, and on the *Nibelungenlied*. His style bore much resemblance to that of Jacob, and he likewise soon became one of the favorites of the students.

Grimm's residence at Göttingen was attended with remarkable results, although perhaps upon the whole not equal to those at Cassel. While William went on with the publication of curious old texts, Jacob continued to work at his Grammar, of which from 1829 to 1837 he succeeded in getting through the press the third and a portion of the fourth (and last) volumes. This last volume, which was to treat of the comparative syntax of the Germanic languages, promised to be one of special interest. But this part of his work Grimm unfortunately left unfinished, to the great disappointment of all the admirers of his method. His study on the syntax extends only to the end of the simple proposition, without as much as touching on the complex, in which so many and so serious difficulties are involved. He seems to have deferred the completion of it until it was too late or inconvenient to accomplish it. His Grammar, however, is nevertheless a splendid and an admirable work, and in spite of this defect we doubt if there is another one to rival it in any language. During this same period he published his edition of the text of the old popular favorite "Renard the Fox" (*Reinhart Fuchs*, Berlin, 1834), accompanied, as in other instances, by a valuable dissertation

on the origin, the development and specific character, of the legends in which animals figure as interlocutors, and on the necessity of distinguishing them from the common fable, with which they had been improperly confounded.

The last fruit of his labors at Göttingen is one of those to which we may justly point as one of the great pillars of his vast celebrity. It is his equally original, thorough, and acute "*German Mythology*" (*Deutsche Mythologie*), which appeared in 1836. This work, although not strictly a comparative mythology in the wide sense of the term, is yet one which far transcends the limits of the nation to which it properly refers, and derives light from a variety of sources more or less remotely related to its own. Its characteristic feature is the introduction of the popular element, which, up to this time, had been excluded from researches of the kind; and its information is derived almost entirely from the traditional superstitions of past and present times. The popular beliefs and superstitions still more or less in vogue are, according to Grimm, often but the remains of the primitive religions of the nation. For in Germany, as in other countries, Christianity is so far from having entirely eradicated the old popular beliefs which preceded it, that, on the contrary, it has even adopted some by modifying them, and has not been able to annihilate completely the majority of those which it supplanted. It is thus that in Scandinavia the myths concerning Freya have become metamorphosed into the legends of Saint Gertrude, that in Germany the night of the summer solstice has been consecrated to Saint John, and the fantastic May-day night linked to the name of the humble nun, Saint Valpurgis, in whose real life we look in vain for the slightest reference to the mysterious eve in question. These superstitions, it is true, have vanished almost entirely from the surface of society, but many of them have concentrated themselves in the lower strata of it in the shape of proverbial expressions, of legends, nursery-tales, and local superstitions, which the people repeat and have had in their mouths for centuries, without comprehending either their origin or primitive intention. It is from this vast mine of popular lore, which up to his day had lain unexplored by any one, that Grimm derived a multitude of myths, which to most of his readers were as novel as they

are intrinsically curious and significant; and it is on this account that his Mythology from the day of its appearance became not only the model for subsequent researches of the kind, but also an invaluable guide for the exploration of other national myths more or less akin. To the works prepared by Jacob Grimm while at Göttingen, we must add one of a religious character which appeared soon after his removal there. It is his *Hymnorum veteris Ecclesiæ XXVI Interpretatio Theotisca*, 1830. The texts published by William about this time are *Der Freidank*, Göttingen, 1834, and *Der grosse Rosengarten*, 1836.

These literary enterprises of the brothers at Göttingen were suddenly and rudely interrupted by an event of a political nature, which occurred towards the end of the year 1837. The king of Hanover, under whose auspices the Grimms had come to Göttingen, was William IV. of England, who in 1833 had given a liberal constitution to his German kingdom. But when upon his decease, in 1837, the two crowns were separated, and that of Hanover fell to his brother, the Duke of Cumberland, the new King Ernest Augustus threw himself into the arms of the old feudal party, and, under the pretext of some irregularity, declared himself not obligated to recognize the concession of his brother; so that the constitution was formally abolished by a decree of November 1st, 1837, and the old state of things, in which the territorial nobility was all-powerful, was re-established. The act was looked upon as a breach of faith on the part of the new king, and an energetic protest was entered against it by the University of Göttingen, signed by seven of the most distinguished of its professors, among whom were Jacob and William Grimm. The rest were Dahlmann, the lecturer on political economy; Ewald, who taught Hebrew; Gervinus, of the chair of history and literature; Weber, of that of physics; and Albrecht, of the law. The protest was a weighty one, when we consider that in Germany the faculties of a University have an authority analogous to that of the supreme court of appeals in other countries; but in this instance it only served to challenge another act of violence from the arbitrary monarch and the party by which he was supported. By an edict of the 11th of December, 1837, the seven

professors who had signed were all of them deprived of office, and the three who had published the protest, Dahlmann, Gerwinus, and Jacob Grimm were required to quit the kingdom within three days. They carried with them, however, the sympathy and regrets of the majority of the students, who insisted on accompanying them *in corpore* as far as the frontier, and passed a resolution not to redemand the lecture fees that had been paid them in advance,—a resolution which was faithfully observed by all except six nobles of the royal party, who demanded reimbursement. This demonstration, as might be expected, led to a collision between the enthusiastic sons of the Muses and the civil authorities. For when, on December 15th, they again met to salute the four deposed professors who were still living in the city, the military intervened, and several of the young men were wounded, while others were arrested and imprisoned. Here the matter ended without any further trouble from the students, who it would seem were not supported by any of the citizens.*

Thus exiled from Göttingen, Jacob Grimm proceeded at once to his old Cassel, while his brother William remained yet for nearly an entire year, probably to wind up their affairs at the University. He followed Jacob in October, 1838, and they now once more began to work quietly together where nearly thirty years before they had commenced their career as authors. Their fate enlisted sympathy and respect all over Germany, and it seemed almost certain that they were destined to gain more than they had lost from their removal. But their pecuniary prospects were at this moment none of the most flattering, and it was chiefly on this account that, when Weidmann, a publisher of Leipzig, offered to engage them to prepare an extensive historical dictionary of the German language, they accepted without hesitation a task which under better circumstances they might have shrunk from undertaking, on account of the enormous labor which it involved. The task, however, was well suited to them; and in a letter to Michelet,† in which Jacob complains of the necessity which compelled them to engage in

* Cf. Jacob Grimm's own account, *Ueber meine Entlassung*, in Vol. I. of *Kleinere Schriften*, Berlin, 1864.

† *Revue Germanique*, Février, 1864.

it, he goes on to describe with apparent satisfaction the plan of the great work on which they were about to enter. He says : " That which is more especially to occupy us for a series of years to come is a complete dictionary of the German language, which we propose, however, to construct rather upon the plan of the *Accademia della Crusca* than on that of the French Academy. A work of this description has long been felt to be a great desideratum for our language, and still it will not yet be too late to undertake it. And that to foreigners too it may come just in time to be acceptable, we intend to give the definitions of the words in Latin ; and where the dead language offers no equivalent, in French. All the writers of the last three centuries, from Luther down, will be consulted, with the assistance, of course, of a large number of contributors ; and this, you may imagine, will bring together an amount of matter that will be really astonishing."

The two brothers were already zealously at work, and the preparations for the great task almost completed, when in 1841 a new turn of events placed them in a position either to relinquish the engagement, or at any rate to proceed more deliberately and at their leisure. It was in that year that, at the suggestion of William von Humboldt, the late king of Prussia, Frederic William IV., who took pride in extending his favors to everything relating to the literature and art of Germany, invited them to Berlin as members of the Academy. No offer could have been more honorable, and it was therefore readily accepted. The position of academician was in itself an eminent and well-remunerated one, and it had besides attached to it the privilege of lecturing at the University, — a privilege of which the Grimms, however, made but little use, owing to a natural disinclination for public courses. The Athens of the North offered them advantages which thus far they had only partially enjoyed, and it was destined to be their place of happy effort until the end of their career on earth. They there not only had the benefit of the concentrated intellect and refinement of a great metropolis, but they also enjoyed a still rarer private favor. They lived by the side of the celebrated Bettina, the widow of their friend Achim von Arnim ; and the society of this warm-hearted and highly intellectual woman

became to them at once a source of refined domestic enjoyment and an incentive to perseverance in their arduous literary enterprises.

Of the two Grimms, William alone had married, as long ago as 1825. His wife was one of his mother's friends from Cassel, and the marriage was in every respect a happy one. So far from separating the two brothers, or even disturbing their intimacy, Madame Grimm contributed in no small degree to link them ever closer together, by presiding over the domestic board of both with a degree of fidelity that made her say sometimes, in her naïve pleasantry, that she was attending to "her husbands." William had several children, one of whom, Hermann Grimm, is the husband of one of Bettina's daughters, and a writer of some note in Germany. Jacob, although submissive to the arrangements of a family, remained independent to the end of his days, with now no other care upon his mind but that of his studies, which were, however, immense enough to wear out any constitution less vigorous than his own. The domestic economy of the Grimms was in every sense a rational one, nor was it ever disturbed by anything like petty feuds or divisions. That its honor, too, was always respected, we need not here remark, although we cannot but record an instance of *médiance* of which none but a gay capital like that of Prussia could be guilty. Shortly after the settlement of the Grimms at Berlin, a comedy was brought out under the title of *Wer soll heirathen?* (Which of the two shall get married?) in which some of the mischievous talkers of the town pretended to find allusion to the supposed embarrassment of the two bachelors prior to the marriage of one of them, some twenty years before.

The special charge of Jacob in the family, and one in which he took no little satisfaction, was that of private librarian. With the exception of the few most necessary books always to be kept at hand, the brothers had but one common library, and it was Jacob who attended to it with the science and devotion of a consummate custodian. He would often, we are told, walk slowly along by the shelves, to take down here and there a volume, which he then would examine for some moments, and put back in its place again with the satisfaction of a veri-

table amateur. It was his delight to rise and to put his hand directly upon the volume which the rest were looking for in vain. He was so familiar with the places of his books, that he could find them even at night without a candle. Many of the volumes of this select collection were full of marginal notes and manuscript fly-leaves from the hands of one or both of the two brothers; and where a work had no printed index, it not unfrequently acquired two, one from the pen of each of them. It was doubtless mainly on this account that the Grimms were rarely willing to allow a volume to be lent out of their collection, and were somewhat in the repute of over-nicety in this respect, although the writer of these lines recollects that, when in Berlin, Jacob of his own accord offered him the use of a work on the Gothic language which, on account of other occupations, he could not at the moment accept. Jacob's devotion to his literary treasures extended to the end of his days; and in his old age he often expressed the wish that his collection should not be scattered after his decease. His friends assured him that it should be respected; and when, while on his death-bed, they desired to cheer him with something grateful to his failing senses, they again repeated that his library should be preserved entire. They were probably the last words he distinctly heard before expiring. In addition to this idiosyncrasy about the library, Jacob had another and still more marked one about his writings. His posthumous papers contained a testamentary note, made, it would seem, long prior to his decease, in which he expressed the wish that all his unfinished manuscripts, and even the *excerpta* that might be found after his death, should be destroyed by fire,—a clause which, in spite of the respect due to the wishes of the testator, it is hoped will not be complied with by his executors.

From all that we have thus far seen of the Grimms, their dominant passion was for books; but they had still another one in common, and that was one for flowers. It is true they had but little chance to cultivate them, living as they did mostly in cities. But they made room for a few at any rate in front of their windows, where William regularly kept his primroses, and Jacob his gilliflowers and his heliotropes. The latter also liked to see two or three cut flowers in a vase upon the table

at which he worked. Their flowers were to them symbolical of the precious blossoms of the heart and intellect, as unfolded in the old poetry and traditions of their native country.

In illustration of the intimate and never clouded harmony of the two brothers, it is perhaps not out of place to quote the words which Jacob addressed to William in 1831, just after the latter had recovered from a serious illness. It is the page which, in the shape of a dedication, Jacob put in front of the third volume of his *Grammar*, and reads as follows: —

“My dear William: — When last winter you were so ill, I was obliged to fear that your faithful eyes might perhaps never light upon the pages now before you. I was seated at your table, in your chair, and my mind was filled with inexpressible sadness when I saw with how much order and neatness you had read and extracted from the first volumes of my work. It appeared to me then that I had written it for you alone, and that, if you were taken away from me, I could never proceed any further with its composition. God’s mercy has protected us and left you with us, and it is therefore to you that in all justice the present volume more especially belongs. It has been said truly, that certain books are written for posterity; but it is nevertheless even more true, that at the same time each work of the kind belongs first of all to the limited circle in which we live, and that that circle alone contains the key to its most intimate sense, which often may remain sealed to all the rest. At any rate, when you read me, you who know exactly my manner, with all its commendable qualities and its defects, I experience more satisfaction than if I were read by a hundred others, who may not comprehend me properly here and there, or to whom my work, in many a part of it, may be a matter of indifference. But as for you, I know that you peruse every portion of my book with the most impartial and most constant interest, and that not only on account of the subject itself, but also for my own sake. May you therefore be fraternally contented with that which I now dedicate to you.”

The intimacy here brought out so conspicuously, although rare in history, is not so surprising, when we recollect that it was based upon a perfect harmony, nay, an identity, of life-plan. Their difference of age was but one year; they had been at school and at the University together; they had for a great while lived and even dressed alike. For many of their earlier years they had but one room and but one bed, and they also studied at the same table. At the University they still

lived in a common room, with two tables and separate beds. At the age of manhood even, they for a great while adhered to a common study-chamber; and when at a later date a difference of habit and of inclination made some separation necessary, the distance never extended beyond their occupying two study-chambers contiguous to each other. William could do nothing except in the most perfect silence, and the slightest interruption was to him a source of trouble and annoyance. His time too was of necessity somewhat differently occupied from that of his brother. He devoted the day only to study, while the evening he thought belonged to his family and his friends, or to visits out of the house. Jacob was unwilling to surrender to society any stated portion of his time, and if left to himself would have kept on working without any intermission. Yet he could be interrupted without any inconvenience, and he was even glad to have a paper brought him, or to have a chat on politics. He made it a point never to refuse a visitor at any time; and when the call was over, he would go on with his work precisely as if its thread had been unbroken. Yet William, in spite of his precaution, evinced much less concentration of mind than Jacob. The latter had the native force in him, and on that account he alone planned and executed nearly everything that is original, profound, or great in the labors of the two.

Notwithstanding this marked difference, the two brothers were yet devoted to one common task, and this was shared with a number of others; as, for example, with Lachmann, Schmeller, Graff, Hoffmann, and after a while with other younger members of the Germanists. The central sentiment of all these men was a patriotic one, and one which commenced with and derived its main inspiration from the great movement for national independence in opposition to Napoleon. The labors of the Grimms, and especially of Jacob, placed them at the head of the school in which they had registered their names, and they were accustomed to look upon it as the great end of their lives to rear to their country a national monument that might last for centuries to come, and to do so by reanimating the past for the benefit of the future. They thus became historians, but historians in a new and extraordinary sense. In-

stead of occupying themselves with the monotonous and often humiliating or disgusting spectacle of political events, they penetrated into the spirit of the past, into those common elements in which a nation lives and moves, and from this exhaustless mine they brought to light, not only the primitive poetry, the religion, superstitions, and popular legal wisdom of the nation, but also, and in close connection with them, the history of its language, which they were wont to look upon as the most faithful mirror of the collective and spontaneous life of the masses from which it emanated. The task was a gigantic one, and yet their untiring, patriotic zeal advanced it so far, that it may almost be said to have been completed. The labors of the Germanists were attended with the noblest results. The poets of the nation, men like Uhland and Simrock, caught the inspiration, and have revived for us many a pleasant legend of the olden time, while the regal public halls of Munich and many a gallery of Germany bear evidence that art too has learnt its lessons from researches like those which we have here endeavored to describe. Of their eventual effect upon the nation at large there cannot be the slightest doubt, however difficult it may be at present to calculate the exact nature and extent of it.

The fraternal concord between the Grimms lasted until it was broken by the hand of death. William died of an anthrax, in December, 1859, about eighteen years after his arrival in Berlin, and seven after the appearance of the first number of their great work, the Dictionary. He had reached the seventy-fourth year of his life. The funeral homage paid his remains was of the most distinguished kind; and among those who followed him to his last repose was one of his old colleagues at Göttingen, the celebrated Gervinus of Heidelberg.

That the Grimms in the midst of so much to favor their studies at Berlin did not remit any of their previous ardor, it is scarcely necessary to remark. William, besides proceeding with his publication of old texts, contributed a number of valuable dissertations to the transactions of the Academy, among which we find, for example, one on the German finger-names (*Ueber die deutschen Fingernamen*), in the year 1846, and another no less remarkable one on the myth of Polyphemus,

in the year 1857. But by far the heaviest portion of his efforts was bestowed upon the Lexicon, to the mere preliminaries of which more than a decennium was found necessary, and in the final reduction of which William, during the last seven years of his life, divided the work about equally with his brother.

Jacob's studious zeal during his residence in Berlin was as untiring as ever. His superior intellect placed him at the head of the lexical enterprise, and he also made still more numerous and important contributions to the Academy. During his first years in the city, he went on chiefly with the revision and completion of things already printed, and partly with the execution of some of his many plans of new publications. After preparing a new and greatly enlarged edition of his German Mythology, which appeared in 1843, he published a collection of documents of popular jurisprudence (*Dorfweistümer*), in three heavy volumes, intended as a sequel to his Antiquities of German Jurisprudence, and prepared probably already at Göttingen or during his late stay at Cassel. To these he intended to add a fourth volume, containing the necessary introductions and elucidations; but this, like the last volume of his Grammar, was never entirely completed. But the most important original work from his pen while at Berlin is his History of the German Language (*Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*), in two large octavos, which was prepared just before the political troubles of 1848, and published in that year. This work linked itself essentially to the author's Grammar, and is in a certain sense the complement of it. The title, however, does not give us a correct idea of its character; for it is so far from tracing the development of the language to the entire extent of its history, that it scarcely passes beyond the limits of its antiquities. But these it treats with a thoroughness and exactness rarely to be met with and unsurpassed in any scientific department. All the old dialects of the German, the Gothic, the Scandinavian, the High and Low German subdivisions, &c., are here once more subjected to a close examination of their characteristic law of development, and compared not only with each other and with the kindred idioms of Indo-European descent, but even with those less related idioms geographically contiguous to them, as, for example, with the

Finnish. Grimm had here again a patriotic end in view. His object was to determine with the utmost possible exactness the limits of the Germanic race and of the nations which constituted it, and to demonstrate their original identity. The work has, therefore, an immense scientific value; and although offering but little interest to the general reader, it will yet hereafter be looked upon as an indispensable introduction, not only to the history of Germany, but also to that of the barbaric invasions which buried the old Roman empire.

The first number of the great Lexicon (*Deutsches Wörterbuch*) made its appearance in 1852 (nearly fourteen years after the proposition to prepare it was accepted), and the first complete volume bears the date of March 22, 1854. Of the plan of the work we have several sketches from the authors themselves. One of them was submitted by William to the Congress of Germanists which met at Frankfort in 1846; two at least are furnished us by Jacob in his letters, and one extended and minute one in his admirable Preface to the first volume. The work, as we have already seen, embraces in its vocabulary the German language as represented by the authors of the nation for the last three centuries, commencing with Luther and ending with Goethe; that is to say, it professes to be a complete Thesaurus of the third period of the language, which Jacob in his Grammar has designated as the Modern High German. The Old and Middle High German had necessarily to be excluded from the alphabetical order of the words, but they are nevertheless respectably represented, not only in the etymological researches, but also in the quotations introduced to elucidate or define the words employed by the writers of a later date. The citations from authors are numerous, and well calculated to bring out the meanings of the word which they are intended to illustrate, while the etymological researches are such in every sense as we might expect from two great philologists who in this department stood unrivalled. The definitions are mostly in German, but under the most important words generally also, as the prospectus promised; in Latin, or in some modern language. The plan is as unique as it is comprehensive; and the work will doubtless prove an invaluable mine to the scholar and the future author of the nation, how-

ever unpalatable and comparatively useless it may be to those who are too indolent or ignorant to use it. "It appears to me," says Jacob in a letter to Adolph Regnier, "to be the first time that in the case of a modern idiom an attempt is made to make one's self master of the entire living language, by comprising in it those expressions even which it has lost in the course of the last centuries. With a view to this end, abundance and exactness of citations are indispensable. Our aim should not be to interdict the use of words to the writers of the present or of future time, but to make it easier for them to reintroduce some of those now out of date. Our object, therefore, was first of all to open a complete archive of the language, as it actually exists and has existed during the time in question, let the practical use that shall be made of it be what it may. If the work shall be continued and completed as we have commenced it, the trite complaint about the dryness of lexicons will entirely disappear." This was written in 1853, a year before the publication of the first volume (*A — Biermolke*) entire. The second volume (*Biermolke — E*) did not appear complete until eight years after (1860); but the eight numbers of the third (*E — Forsche*) followed each other in rapid succession, and the whole of it was out in 1862.

After the death of William, who did not live to see the second volume entire, the whole of the enormous task devolved mainly on Jacob, who sustained it with admirable constancy and fortitude. But he was not destined to proceed much further than his fraternal coadjutor, and was called away to follow him before the letter *F* of the first number of the fourth volume was completed. We must not imagine, however, that Germany could allow so noble a monument of its language to fail, or even to be suspended long, by the decease of its originators. To the credit of the work and of the nation, it is already continued, and the first number of the fifth volume (*K — Kartenband*), from the pen of Dr. Rudolph Hildebrand, is already before us; while the remainder of the fourth, from the hand of Prof. Karl Weigand, is also in a state of progress. Both these continuators had contributed to the work during the lifetime of the authors; and Dr. Hildebrand to such an extent, and so much to their satisfaction, that Jacob Grimm

had expressly designated him as his successor. We need not, therefore, be surprised to find that the continuation is pronounced to be in every respect worthy of the beginning, and that the work will in all probability be completed on the same plan and in the same spirit in which it was begun.

That this unique Thesaurus, as far as it is before the public, should have enjoyed an extensive circulation and a wide celebrity, both at home and abroad, is no more than its antecedents would lead us to expect. But it has also met with detractions, and a number of faults have been found with it. Adolph von Raumer accuses the authors of sacrificing too much of the present classical state of the language to that of an anterior date,* while Denhard complains of Jacob's attempt to alter the present orthography of the German upon the basis of what he calls its organic development.† The latter of these charges more especially is not unfounded, and Grimm's proposition on this point will in all probability never be accepted. But as no human work is absolutely perfect, so the one in question may likewise be subject to exceptions. Be that, however, as it may, it will nevertheless not only answer completely all the ends for which, as we have seen above, it was intended, but it will stand probably for centuries as one of the noblest and most gigantic monuments of erudition ever reared by mortals. The attempts to censure his proceeding were a source of some annoyance to Jacob, but he dismissed them with the brief remark, "Two spiders have crept upon the plants of my word-garden, and have discharged their poison on them."

One would not suppose that Grimm, amid the arduous responsibilities of efforts like those just enumerated, could have either inclination or leisure for anything else; and yet we find that during his residence in Berlin he was not only one of the most active associates of the Academy, but also the honored member of several public conventions and the orator of festive occasions. When, in 1846, the venerable *Römersaal* at Frankfort had united within its walls the Germanists of the nation, the poet Uhland in a brief speech nominated Grimm for President, and the convention confirmed his nomination with

* *Gesammelte Sprachwiss. Schriften*, Frankfurt, 1863.

† *Ueber die Brüder Grimm, ihr Leben und ihre Werke*, Hanau, 1860.

unanimous acclamation. Grimm replied with an enthusiastic discourse, in which he patriotically advocated the unity of Germany, and asserted its legitimate limits to be far beyond its present geographical extension. "The natural boundaries of nations," said he, "are not the rivers, but the mountains and the languages." The remark seems to have been made more especially in reference to Lorraine and Alsace, between the Rhine and the Vosges; but the speaker also intended it to apply to Holland, Belgium, the German portion of Switzerland, and, in fact, as far as the dialects of his language extend. In reference to all these provinces, he elsewhere expressed the hope that they would not always remain disrupted from the unity of Germany.

The political events of 1848 brought Grimm again to the old imperial hall at Frankfort, where he attended the national parliament as deputy from Mülheim, on the Ruhr. Although a pupil of the conservative Savigny, Grimm's political sentiments were liberal, and he voted independently,—sometimes with the right, and sometimes with the left, as his good sense and conscience happened to direct him. While the project of a constitution was under discussion, he proposed the following memorable article to be put at the head of it: "All the Germans are free. The soil of Germany tolerates no slavery. It liberates the stranger not already free as soon as he sets foot on it." The French formula, *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*, he rejected, on the ground that men are not equal by nature, and that the idea of fraternity is a moral and religious, rather than a political one. "But that of liberty," said he, "is so important and so sacred, that it appears to me necessary to assert it at the head of our declaration of rights." After these remarks Grimm took very little further part in the proceedings, except that, when some member said he wanted to hear no more of historical development, Grimm, like one personally assailed, replied from his seat: "Let those who do not want to hear anything about history know that history will not want to hear anything about them." Grimm was likewise present when the parliament of Frankfort met at Gotha in 1849; but, unfortunately, neither he nor any one else succeeded in cementing the unity of Germany.

From 1851 until the time of his death, Jacob Grimm was one of the most zealous supporters of the philosophico-historical section of the Academy, to which he contributed not only a series of learned dissertations, but also several no less elaborate and original public discourses. Among these contributions we need only mention those on the origin of language, on the god of love, on the names of women derived from flowers, on the various names of thunder, on the change of persons in connection with the verb, &c., &c. Of the dissertations here enumerated, that on the origin of language attracted perhaps the most attention, as proceeding from a man who had a right to speak upon a subject so important, but at the same time also so obscure and difficult. It is true that more than one of the views advanced have been, and are liable to be, contested; but it is no less true that every page of the admirable memoir exhibits at once the profoundness and the independence of a manly intellect, and is on that account well worth attentive study.* It is needless to add, that Grimm, like Humboldt before him, did not declare himself in favor of the theory which makes language the object of a direct Divine revelation. To these contributions to the Academy's transactions we must add a variety of other essays printed in Haupt's Journal for German Antiquities and in other periodicals. The learned Prefaces to Merkel's *Lex Salica* and to Schulze's Gothic Glossary are also from his pen.

Two of his public discourses read before the Academy are too remarkable to be passed over here unnoticed. The first is that pronounced upon the occasion of the Schiller festival, celebrated all over Germany in November, 1859. His subject was Schiller and Goethe; but in connection with it he took occasion to animadvert severely against subjection to the yoke of sect and party in matters of religion, in which he maintained that the liberty of the spirit alone could unite, while the worship of the letter always divided. His text was the celebrated epigram of Schiller in which he says:—

“Welche Religion ich erkenne? Keine von allen
Die du mir nennst. — Und warum keine? — Aus Religion.”

* Reprinted in Vol. I. of his *Kleinere Schriften*, Berlin, 1864.

The second of these discourses was read at the celebration of the birthday anniversary of Frederic the Great, on January 26th, 1860. Upon this occasion his theme was old age, which he maintained to be rather the crowning plenitude of life than a diminution or decline of it. "The privilege of old age," says he, "is liberty of thought. The ornament of the old man (*des Greisen*) consists in his courage to look truth in the face, and to bear testimony to it in matters both of politics and religion. It is this which constitutes him the elder of the people to which he belongs, and his years bestow on him the privilege of determining and pronouncing what is just." * That Grimm was to a great extent himself the representative of the position here so admirably advocated, the reader may gather from nearly every incident and act belonging to the latter portion of his life.

Grimm remained hale and active until within a few days of his death. The Lexicon took up a good part of his time, but his head was nevertheless at intervals occupied with the projection and preparation of new additions to the long list of his works. He contemplated a work on the manners and customs of the ancient Germans, and another on Ossian. He wanted, besides, to write an introduction to his Popular Tales, and to complete the last volume of his so long neglected Grammar. The fourth volume of his *Weisthümer* (Old Law Documents), which was to contain the dissertations and elucidations promised years before as a sort of key to the work, was almost finished, and among his posthumous papers was also found a discourse on his brother William, which he probably intended to read before the Academy, and to which only the last leaf was wanting. His last publication was an article on Jonckbloet's Renard the Fox, and on the old legends in which animals figure as the characters. It was printed in the *Gelehrte Anzeigen* of Göttingen.

In all these writings Grimm exhibits certain peculiarities of style which distinguish him from all other authors of his nation, with the sole exception of his brother William. Both of them show themselves accomplished writers, when in the midst of

* Cf. *Rede auf Wilhelm Grimm und über das Alter*, herausgegeben von HERMANN GRIMM. Berlin, 1863.

their philological technicalities they find some narrative to relate or some popular legend to record. Their *Hausmärchen* are masterpieces in the department of literature to which they belong, and never has literature succeeded so completely in imitating and reproducing the naïve simplicity of the popular mind. But Jacob has a certain manly independence and originality of style and thought peculiar to himself, and stands, in this respect, far above his brother. This independence extended itself to his orthography and type even. In common with several other Germanists, he rejected the use of capital initials to substantives, and had nearly all his works printed in the Roman character.

We have thus far considered Grimm chiefly as a scholar, a man of science, and a writer. If it be true that the style constitutes the man, then he who placed himself at the head of an extensive school like that of the Germanists must, in respect to his personality, have been a man not only of the primitive Teutonic force, but also one of the rarest and profoundest endowments both of the intellect and of the heart. And such he was in every sense, combining as he did the most delicate poetical sensibility with the thoroughness, exactness, and comprehension of the man of science, while the nobility and strength of his character were displayed in his devotion to his country and his nation, to honor and the truth. His life consisted of an uninterrupted series of laborious efforts, and he scarcely knew any other want than that of knowledge and of science. His residence in his brother's family enabled him to live almost wholly independent of society, and he thus saved nearly all his time for study. Even in the summer, when William and his wife went into the country or to some watering-place, he would stay at home to keep house for them, or he would sometimes follow them to join them for a few days only. But even then it was his custom to bring a small library along with him, and one might find him reading even on his public promenades. Occasionally he would take a railroad trip to see an old friend living at a distance; and but a year before his death we thus find him on a visit to Mayor Smidt of Bremen, where we are told he had a long chat with a young woman in his country's costume, who was on the point of emigrating to America. During the last

few months of his life, he was uncommonly active in corresponding with some of the younger members of his literary fraternity, exhorting them to diligence and perseverance in their work.

Grimm's physical constitution was one of primitive Germanic soundness, and he scarcely knew what it was to have any physical ailment. His last illness lasted but a fortnight, and he thought he was recovering even from that, when, on the 20th of September, 1863, a sudden attack of apoplexy paralyzed his tongue and one side of his body. The shock was so severe, that he never completely recovered his consciousness, and he expired in the course of the same evening.

With Grimm Germany lost one of the last representatives of the great generation of men, which rendered it illustrious in literature, science, and art, and which will be respected for centuries as one of the brightest mirrors of its individuality and history. At the head of it stands Goethe as its elder and its chief, with Schiller, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Beethoven, the two Humboldts, Bopp, and others, to complete the group. They are the men who, in the brief space of less than half a century, made their country respected where before it was despised, and appeared as leaders in departments in which there had been but feeble imitation and mediocrity among their predecessors. If Germany, through them now intellectually great, is ever destined to become politically so, it will doubtless be to them that it will have to rear its first and proudest monuments.